

Message Text

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PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 SAJ-01 IO-10 ACDA-05

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TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1521

AMEMBASSY BERLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

CINCUSAREUR

CINCUSAFE

CINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 2044

MILITARY ADDRESSEES FOR POLADS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, WB, GE, GW, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET-GDR TREATY--BERLIN ASPECTS

1. SUMMARY: BERLIN REACTION TO NEW SOVIET-GDR TREATY HAS BEEN RESTRAINED. SENAT, PARTY POLITICIANS AND PRESS ALL NOTE DISAPPEARANCE OF REFERENCES TO GERMAN UNITY AND FOUR POWER RESPONSIBILITIES AND CRITICIZE PARTIAL CITATION OF QA PASSAGE ON FRG-BERLIN TIES. GENERAL FEELING APPEARS TO BE, HOWEVER, THAT TREATY CONTAINS LITTLE THAT IS NEW ON GERMAN UNITY AND BERLIN QUESTIONS. IF ANYTHING, INITIAL REACTION SEEMS LESS
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EXCITED THAN IT WAS LAST YEAR WHEN GDR DELETED

REFERENCES TO GERMAN NATION FROM ITS CONSTITUTION. THERE IS SOME CONCERN, HOWEVER, THAT BERLIN ARTICLE OF TREATY SIGNALS FURTHER SOVIET AND GDR EFFORTS TO ISOLATE CITY. WE ARE STRUCK BY RELATIVELY MINOR PLACE BERLIN HAS IN PRESENT TREATY AS COMPARED TO ITS 1964 PREDECESSOR, ALTHOUGH FORMULATION OF BERLIN ARTICLE DOES PROBABLY PRESAGE DIFFICULT DAYS AHEAD ON FRG TIES AND GIVES FAIR WARNING OF CONTINUED GDR INTEREST IN GAINING PREDOMINANT ROLE HERE. COMPARATIVELY BRIEF TREATMENT BERLIN RECEIVES PROBABLY REFLECTS SOVIET-GDR BELIEF THAT QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, IN CONJUNCTION WITH CSCE, HAS REMOVED BERLIN FROM EUROPE'S FRONT BURNER. WE DOUBT THERE IS ENOUGH OF SUBSTANCE IN THIS TREATY TO WARRANT ANYTHING LIKE SULL SCALE TRIPARTITE REBUTTAL THAT WAS MOUNTED IN 1964 BUT BELIEVE IT MIGHT BE PRUDENT, AND PERHAPS REQUIRED BY GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION, TO PREPARE BRIEF PRESS STATEMENT THAT ALLIES COULD CONSIDER USING.

END SUMMARY.

2. NONE OF EARLY COMMENTATORS IN WEST BERLIN WHOSE REMARKS WE HAVE SEEN SUGGESTS THAT TREATY HAS MUCH THAT IS NEW OR SURPRISING. SENAT HAS THUS FAR LIMITED ITSELF TO BRIEDF REMARKS FROM PRESS SPOKEMAN STRUVE TO EFFECT THAT TREATY PARTNERS SHOULD HAVE CITED THAT PART OF QA THAT SYAS FRG-BERLIN TIES CAN BE MAINTAINED AND DEVELOPED AS WELL AS THAT PART WHICH SAYS CITY IS NOT PART OF FRG AND CANNOT BE GOVERNED BY IT. STRUVE ALSO CALLED BERLIN ARTICLE, NOT UNFAVORABLY, "A QUALITATIVE CHANGE" SINCE UNLIKE 1964 TREATY IT DOES NOT USE TERM "SEPARATE POLITICAL ENTITY" TO DESCRIBE CITY'S STATUS. HEAD OF SPD FRAKTION IN BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAUS AND CDU COUNTERPART LUMMER BOTH CRITICIZED ONE-SIDED INTERPRETATION OF QA IN TREATY AND UNILATERAL EFFORT TO FINALIZE FOR ALL TIME DIVISION OF GERMANY. FDP BUNDESTAG REPRESENTATIVE HOPPE POINTED OUT GERMAN UNITY DEPENDS IN LONG RUN LESS ON WHAT CHIEFS OF STATE SAY THAN UPON FEELING OF PEOPLE IN TWO GERMAN STATES. TAGESSPIEGEL EDITORIAL PICKED UP HOPPE'S THEME WITH ASSERTION THAT TREATY MEETS PRESENT

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NEEDS OF GDR AND SOVIETY UNION BUT "LAST WORD ABOUT GERMAN NATION HAS NOT BEEN SPOKEN BY BREZHNEV AND HONECKER." HOPPE AND BERLIN PRESS NOTE THAT GERMAN UNITY OPTION REMAINS OPEN TO SOVIETS AND GDR WHEN IT SUITS THEIR PURPOSE AND THAT, TECHNICALLY SPEAKING, ALL REFERENCES TO REUNIFICATION CONTAINED IN 1955 RELATIONS TREATY AND 1964 FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION TREATY REMAIN IN FORCE SINCE NEW TREATY DOES NOT

FORMALLY AMEND OR REPEAL PREDECESSORS. AGAINST THIS
RELATIVELY COMPLACENT REACTION TO ABSENCE GERMAN UNITY
PASSAGES, BERLIN PRESS POINTS IN SOME DETAIL TO
THOSE ELEMENTS OF NEW TREATY--PARTICULARLY BROADER
MILITARY COMMITMENT, WHICH MORGENPOST AND DIE WELT SEE AS POSSIBLY
LEADING TO STATIONING OF GERMAN SOLDIERS ON CHINESE
BORDER DEMONSTRATING DEGREE TO WHICH GDR IS HELD FAST
BY EMBRACE OF BUSSIAN BEAR.

3. WE ARE STRUCK BY RELATIVELY BRIEF TREATMENT ACCORDED
BERLIN IN THIS TREATY AND IN PROPAGANDA FEAST WHICH
ACCOMPANIED ITS PUBLICATION. DEVOTION TO CITY OF EVEN
ONE ARTICLE IN TWELVE ARTICLE AGREEMENT SPEAKS, OF COURSE,
OF CONTINUED IMPORTANCE OF BERLIN SSIUES IN EYES OF
BOTH TREATY PARTNERS, BUT THAT ARTICLE IS ALL THERE IS.
IN 1964 THER WAS, IN ADDITION TO SPECIAL ARTICLE,
FURTHER REFERENCE IN TREATY TO NEED FOR "NORMALIZATION
OF THE SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN," AND SUBSTANTIAL
REFERENCES TO CITY IN SIMULTANEOUS JOINT KHRUSHCHEV-
ULBRICHT COMMUNIQUE. WE INTERPRET THIS CONTRAST AS
ESSENTIALLY REAFFIRMATION OF SOVIET-GDR VIEW THAT
QA IN CONJUNCTION WITH CSCE REPRESENTS NORMALIZATION
OF BERLIN SITUATION AND ERSATZ PEACE TREATY WHICH
1964 AGREEMENT ENVISAGED. ABSENCE OF SPECIFIC REF-
ERENCES TO BERLIN IN VARIOUS STATEMENTS AND TOASTS
MADE AROUND AND ABOUT TREATY SIGNING, HOWEVER, ALSO
PROBABLY PROVIDES INDICATION THAT, SO LONG AS FRG
DOES NOT TRY TO GO BEYOND SOVIET-GDR INTERPRETATION
OF WHAT IS PERMISSIBLE IN QA, BERLIN IS AT LEAST
FOR THE MOMENT NO LONGER PROBLEM OR TARGET OF OPPORTUNITY
OF FIRST MAGNITUDE TO SOVIETS.

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INFO OCT-01 EURE-00 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USBERLIN 2044

MILITARY ADDRESSEES FOR POLADS

4. WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT NEW AGREEMENT INDICATES
TREATY PARTNERS WILL ADOPT PASSIVE POLICY TOWARD
BERLIN. 1964 COMMUNIQUE CONTAINED ASSERTION THAT
WEST BERLIN "IS IN THE CENTER OF THE GDR AND LIES ON
ITS TERRITORY." THIS TYPE OF LANGUAGE, WITH OMINOUS
SHADOWS OF POTENTIAL SOVEREIGNTY CLAIMS,
WOULD PRESUMABLY NOT FIT POST-HELSINKI MOOD, BUT
FORMULATION OF BERLIN ARTICLE IS NONETHELESS NOTE-
WORTHY. SOVIETS AND GDR DO NOT SIMPLY SAY THEY WILL
BASE THEIR POLICY TOWARD WEST BERLIN ON QA BUT, PUTTING
NEW TWIST ON QA LANGUAGE, THAT THEY WILL MAINTAIN AND
DEVELOP THEIR OWN TIES TO WEST BERLIN PROCEEDING FROM
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FACT THAT CITY IS NOT PART OF NOR GOVERNED BY FRG.
THIS HAS SOME OVERTONES NOT ONLY OF RITUAL WARNINGS
AGAINST ALLEGED FRG REVANCHISM BUT OF SOVIET AND
GDR INTENTION TO INCREASE ROLES IN CITY, AND PERHAPS TO IMPLY
TIES TO GDR HINTERLAND SHOULD EQUAL THOSE TO BONN. IN SHORT
TERM, WE SUSPECT IT WILL BE USED AND PERHAPS
CITED BY GDR AS UNDERPINNING FOR ITS REFUSAL TO ACCEPT
FRG REPRESENTATION OF BERLIN'S INTERESTS WHENEVER
POSSIBLE AND FOR ITS EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE ITS OWN
SERIES OF AGREEMENTS WITH SENAT. OVER LONGER TERM,
WE SUSPECT IT REFLECTS DESIRE OF TREATY PARTNERS TO
INCREASE WEST BERLIN'S DEPENDENCE UPON THEIR GOOD
GRACES IN PROPORTION TO EXTENT FRG INFLUENCE IS
REDUCED.

5. NONE OF THIS IS PARTICULARLY NEW, AND WE AGREE
WITH BERLIN COMMENTATORS THAT LAST WORD ON BERLIN
PROBLEM AND ON GERMAN UNITY HAS NOT BEEN SPOKEN. FACT

THAT THERE HAVE BEEN THREE SOVIET-GDR TREATIES IN 20 YEARS ON ESSENTIALLY SAME SUBJECTS ALONE SPEAKS SUFFICIENTLY FOR FLEXIBILITY OF TREATY PARTNERS IN SHAPING THEIR BILATERAL COMMITMENTS TO NEEDS OF SOVIET POLICY OF MOMENT. WE SEE NOTHING IN TREATY, MOREOVER, WHICH SUGGESTS SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN GREEN LIGHT TO GDR TO ATTEMPT CHANGES IN AREAS OF VITAL ALLIED CONCERN SUCH AS ACCESS ROUTES. IT WILL BE RECALLED, HOWEVER, THAT BOTH IN 1955 AND IN 1964, ALLIES RESPONDED TO SOVIET-GDR TREATIES WITH STATEMENTS RESERVING THEIR LEGAL POSITION AND REASSERTING THEIR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. THIS WAS DONE IN 1955 VIA NOTE TO SOVIETS AND IN 1964 VIA TRIPARTITE DECLARATION. WHILE NOTHING SO FORMAL OR SOLEMN APPEARS TO BE CALLED FOR BY LATEST TREATY, BRIEF PRESS STATEMENT, PERHAPS ISSUED AT LEVEL OF CHAIRMAN PRESS OFFICER IN BERLIN, COULD BE USEFUL SAFEGUARD. IT MIGHT ALSO BE HELPFUL IN WARDING OFF CHARGES THAT COULD DEVELOP IN INTERNAL GERMAN DEBATE OVER SIGNIFICANCE OF TREATY THAT ALLIES WERE PERMITTING FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES TO BE CHIPPED AWAY AND QA TO BE INTERPRETED UNILATERALLY. (WE HAVE JUST SEEN PRESS REPORTS THAT FRG INTENDS TO SEEK CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES OVER BERLIN IMPLICATIONS

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OF TREATY.) IF SUCH A STATEMENT IS DEEMED USEFUL WE WOULD SUGGEST IT COULD BE QUITE BRIEF, PERHAPS ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: "ALLIES HAVE NOTED REPORTS OF TREATY SIGNED IN MOSCOW OCTOBER 7 BY SOVIET UNION AND GDR. AS WITH EARLIER AGREEMENTS SIGNED IN 1955 AND 1964, NOTHING IN THIS AGREEMENT CAN IN ANY WAY AFFECT QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. NOR CAN IT REPRESENT A VALID INTERPRETATION OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT OF 3 SEPTEMBER 1971, ONE PART OF WHICH IT CITES IN AN INCOMPLETE FASHION AND OUT OF CONTEXT."GEORGE

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